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a few weeks late. No Min Chia regards the rite as designed 796
to seek rain.

The use of lewd or suggestive remarks by the dancers, the fact that their dancing imitates drunkenness or perhaps ecstasy, the disarray of their clothing and the similarity of some of the costumes to those of women, suggest another origin for the festival. It is said that in former times, apparently within the lifetime of living men, the girls of the villages where the dances are held surrounded the dancers and sang songs, and it must be remembered that the dancers came from another group of villages. The general use of charms in the shape of human beings, especially by women and girls must also be noticed. These charms are of two kinds, those made of coloured wool in human shape which are hung round the neck, and small stick-on round labels, the size of a shilling, which are pasted on to the side of the forehead. Some of these are decorated with the Eight Diagrams (Pa Kua) well known throughout China, others with a crescent moon.

No Min Chia was able to explain just who the dancers 791
were, how they were chosen, or what qualifications they must possess, but it is perhaps possible to throw some light on this point by considering the character and behaviour of a class of exorcists among the Min Chia, called Sai Dser, about whom much secrecy is observed. The name "Sai Dser" in Min Chia might well mean "Western people" or "Temple folk" or "Fairy people" for as the Min Chia language is not written, a certain ambiguity always exists about proper names formed of words with two or more uses. Actually no Min Chia with whom I spoke was able, or willing, to say definitely which of the above meanings was correct. It would seem that the last was the most probable, but if that is correct it involves a grammatical irregularity, since the word for a fairy is "*sai*" and

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791 the classificatory particle is "*ni*" thus a "fairy" is "*Sai a ni*"—whereas the Min Chia for "an exorcist" would be "*Sai dser a ni*"; the term *Sai Dser*, possibly meaning Fairy Man, would be one compound word.

The Sai Dser are in ordinary life peasants like their neighbours, owning land and cultivating it. They only perform their exorcist functions on occasion, when called upon, but they hand their arts down from father to son, and it is said that they do not ever recruit outsiders. In this way they differ from the Shamans of the Northern Steppes who are in part recruited from children of suitable temperament or neurotic individuals unrelated to the existing Shamans. The Sai Dser are called upon in cases of sickness, when the patient is believed to be possessed by an evil spirit or a demon of disease. In some cases they merely advise the family to sacrifice a fowl at the shrine of the Mountain God, or at that of some other local deity whom the family have neglected. In all cases this is the first advice given, the Sai Dser only performing their special rites when sacrifice has failed to alleviate the patient's distress.

788 The rite performed by the Sai Dser is called "*Tiao Gur*",
791 meaning to "dance (out) the ghost". "*Gur*" is a word commonly used for malevolent ghosts of deceased persons, but also used for demons, which are in fact scarcely distinguished from them. The Min Chia do not attribute all sickness to the action of malevolent spirits, but have no hard and fast line between the kind of disease which is regarded as caught by infection or contagion such as leprosy, and those less easily diagnosed which are believed to be caused by possession. The name used by the Sai Dser for their rite clearly expressed the belief that its purpose is to dance out the ghost which has possessed the patient.

This dance is performed by two Sai Dser at a time, and closely resembles the dancing at the Gwer Sa La, except for

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the fact that one Sai Dser, though a man, is dressed unmistakably as a woman. The Sai Dser dance round the patient, reeling and swaying, chanting in a high pitched blurred voice so that the words they use cannot be distinguished by those present, for these chants, though I believe partly impromptu, are secret formulas which give control over the ghosts. Min Chia witnesses of the rite at which I was also present, afterwards told me that some of the words used were obscene, but that they could not catch the sense of the context. As at the Gwer Sa La the costumes of the Sai Dser were fantastic, and worn in a disordered fashion. The whole rite thus bore a striking similarity to the dances performed by a pair of participants in the Gwer Sa La.

When it was suggested that the dancers in that festival were Sai Dser, Min Chia informants evaded giving a direct answer, saying that no one knew who the Sai Dser were, or that they were unacquainted with the identity of the dancers at the Gwer Sa La. Informants were embarrassed at these questions and appeared to be somewhat ashamed of the Sai Dser and their activities. In fact the Sai Dser are surrounded with a good deal of mystification. It was a long time before I could hear of them, and still longer before it was possible to witness their rite. This is very rarely performed in the city, and I believe this is because the authorities are hostile to such rites. The same hostility towards the Gwer Sa La ceremony is explained by the Chinese as due to its lewd character, which is certainly not very conspicuous, but the Chinese declare that formerly it was accompanied by indecent behaviour and sexual licence. This is not the case at present, and Min Chia informants, while not directly denying that this may have been so, say they never heard of it. The identity of the dancers in the Gwer Sa La with the Sai Dser cannot be established, but one may observe that if any young man can perform in the Gwer Sa

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La, dancing in the manner of the Sai Dser, it is not easy to see how the latter preserve their monopoly of the *Tiao Gur* ceremony which so closely resembles the dances of the Gwer Sa La.

The general attitude towards the Gwer Sa La is that of holiday making rather than of religious observance. To most people it is a day of carnival, a rare spectacle breaking the monotony of village life, something to go and watch. The school children are given a day off, everyone dresses in their best, and those who have houses in the villages along the processional route invite friends from the city to pass the day with them. The festival also attracts the usual crowd of hawkers and itinerant vendors of fruit, melon seeds, cakes and sweetmeats, who establish themselves along the wayside to catch the custom of the waiting spectators. The making of the charms worn on this occasion by practically everyone present also provides plenty of work for the village women for a long time before the festival, and these charms are sold not only along the roadside but even in the city of Ta Li. Mer Ger Yu, where the rites end, and which is also the nearest point to the city on the processional route, is crowded with visitors, who must be fed, and the day becomes a market of some importance drawing merchants from Hsia Kuan and Ta Li as well as from the villages across the lake. For Mer Ger Yu the economic aspect of the Gwer Sa La is at least as important as the religious. Probably this is one powerful reason why the prohibitions issued by the *Hsien* government fall on deaf ears, although as has been mentioned, there is some reason to suppose that certain aspects of the ceremony have been discontinued in recent years, possibly as a result of government disapproval. The participation of girls in the rite, even if they merely stood and sang songs (perhaps somewhat lewd in character) would be shocking to old-fashioned Chinese ideas, and the dis-

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The tribes people in Lifan have no social center or community center, not to say theaters, cinemas, or dancing halls. But they have a custom of dancing around the fire. The kitchen is the social center. This is because of the low temperature even during the summer nights, and because they are free only in the evenings. During festivals or on special occasions they all gather in the kitchen of their ruling house, dancing and singing around the fire. A wine pot is passed round and round among the dancers. It is the special duty of a servant of the host and hostess to stand by, whose sole duty it is to fill the wine pot as soon as it gets empty, and the pot seems to be empty all the time.

They are very fond of wine. It is home-made wine, made of barley. Rich or poor have big pots of wine. It is made of the raw materials most accessible to them, and it is one of the few stimulants they have. Some of them drink wine as if they were drinking water. It is the custom to offer wine to people who are starting off on a trip. When we were leaving Ma-o in the Black River region the wife of the T'ou-jen 頭人 or leader carried a big bucket of wine, and we were asked to take out our rice bowls and drink with them, for they did not have enough bowls for us. The more one drinks the more courteous one is. Even among the Gia-rung people around Cha-ku-nao the same custom holds.

G. CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The mountains are precipitous, and Nature is magnificent but fearful. People are living at the mercy of their climatic and geographical environment. Therefore, like all primitive people, they believe that there is a spirit in everything; they are animists. They have heaven gods, earth gods, cow gods, horse gods, water gods, tree gods, mountain gods, and a whole lot of other gods. In some temples they have a conglomeration of gods collected from various sects of religious beliefs and shelter them under the same roof, and worship them in a mass. They are very tolerant about religious beliefs, and they worship everything and every god that comes their way, and they think their gods must be very tolerant of each other too. Their whole lives are chained by superstition. Among people of the Lama faith, twice a year they have the "Dancing God Ceremony" 跳神會, once at the end of the year as a farewell to the old year, and once in the early spring to welcome the new year. In August an out-of-door play is given as a thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest.

The center of social activities among the Ch'iang people is the religious teacher. He is present at nearly all occasions, such as when people are sick, when people are moving, when people are happy, and when they want to give thanks. Besides, he is the chief actor at the four most important occasions of the community. First is the ceremony around the beginning of May, when the snow is disappearing and the frozen soil is softening. One sheep is sacrificed to the mountain god for the opening of the mountain, for from henceforth people can go to the mountain for sowing, for gathering fuel, and for digging. The second occasion is around the beginning of July. It is a ceremony in which

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one sheep is sacrificed for prayer to avoid insect pests and for thanksgiving for their coming crops. The third occasion is called the "West Wind" ceremony. It is held around October, and one sheep is sacrificed for the purpose of praying that no west wind may destroy their crops, or a thanksgiving that no west wind has destroyed their crops. The fourth ceremony is called "Closing Mountain" Ceremony. It is held sometime in November, in which in some localities six sheep or one cow is sacrificed as a final thanksgiving to the gods for their harvest, and from that time on the mountains are closed by snow, and no one can go in until after the "Opening Mountain" ceremony the next spring.

These are only a few examples to illustrate how climatic and geographic factors are limiting the economic resources, the characteristics, the mode of living, and the mode of thinking of the people.

I wish to mention how the tribes people, as affected by their climatic and geographical environments, have created two great problems for the government of Li-fan County:

I. The hugeness of the area, the difficulties in transportation, and the variations in topography and in climate have divided the county into a number of isolated islands of communities who have independently been moulded by their individual environments into different social groups, and the county government is not able to get its influence to radiate far into the inaccessible places. Thus, even today, the part of the county that is under the direct control of the county government is really the region between Wei-chow and the Hung-chiao Mountain. The rest of the area is still under the rule of T'u-ssus. There are four T'u-ssus in Li-fan, governing nearly two thirds of the area of Li-fan. The tribes people under the rule of a T'u-ssu do not pay taxes to the government, and they do not obey the laws of the government. Therefore they are a constant source of trouble.

Owing to the high death rate and the decrease of population in the area, two of the T'u-ssus have died without heirs, not even a daughter to get a husband to take care of affairs. Another T'u-ssu has died but has a daughter, so the brother of the Wa-ssu T'u-ssu 瓦寺土司 of Wen-chwan is married in to be the T'u-ssu. There is really no one strong enough to head things up and affairs are in a rather chaotic situation. One local leader, Su 蘇, is trying to be the T'u-ssu of all. He has married two woman rulers, and is trying to get into power by marriage. That is a serious issue which the Li-fan government is facing because it is closely connected with the poppy cultivation problem.

II. The second problem is that of poppy cultivation. Perhaps most of you have heard of the armed conflict around Mao Hsien 茂縣 and Mao Kung 懋功 last summer. It is a question that cannot be settled by military force. Opium is the one thing that brings cash to the mountain people because the crops are not subject to destruction by bears and wild pigs. It is not bulky, and is therefore easy to carry through the dangerous mountain paths. What the people put in is relatively small, but what they gain is tremendous. In the valleys

682 and unusual thing, considering the shy nature of groundhogs. The
775 chief immediately feared that his brother might be among these groundhogs, and proclaimed a general law against groundhog hunting. This law was still enforced, although the sale of groundhog pelts brings in quite a bit of money. It probably means that the Fantzu shared or at least understood the fear of their chieftain. On the other hand, according to primitive ideas of justice, the assassination was in no way avenged, since this would have been exclusively a matter that concerned the family of the victim.

789 Ancestor worship is different from that of the Chinese. There are no ancestral tablets. In the Mewu-Fantzu dialect the ancestors are called xŏŭ. After the father or mother has died, he or she is venerated by daily sacrifices in front of the tent. Later this sacrifice is made only on the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of the month, and then it is gradually abandoned.

791 Just as Taoist and Buddhist priests take part in exorcism, the propitiation of offended spirits and the casting out of evil ones, so Tibetan sorcerers and lamas are enlisted for this purpose. The sorcerer corresponding to the Taoist (tao-shih) or exorcist (kan-kuei-hsien-sheng) of the Chinese popular religion is called no-hua by the Tibetans and "böm-bu" (local pronunciation) by the Chinese. Thus he is a priest of the Bon religion. He wears his hair /50/ long, and is adorned with a special head scarf. (1) There are no different kinds

1. Compare Hoffmann 9), page 137 (names), page 197 (relations to shamanism).

of böm-bu. Not every tent community has a böm-bu, and unfortunately there was none in the community I visited. The böm-bu is married and his profession - the art of carrying out exorcistic rites and writing incantations to ward off spirits - is handed down from father to son, but not to daughter or son-in-law. The altar in the tent of the böm-bu contains the customary small statues of gods and bowls for the sacrificial water, as well as a large Chinese brush with which he writes his incantations, and a long row of copper coins. He always has prayer books, although the laymen say that many böm-bu cannot read their prayerbooks, but only leaf through them. On the other hand, I was told that the böm-bu are able to understand the sacred writings of the lamas, but that, conversely, fewer educated lamas understand the sacred writings of the böm-bu. In spite of the high esteem in which the lamas are

held, I gathered from the Mewu-Fantzu that the magic power of a böm-bu is considered greater than that of the lama, although he does not enjoy special social privileges. In cases of illness, the nomads as a rule first consult a lama who can determine which spirit has caused the illness. They are sometimes in doubt whether in a certain case exorcism by a böm-bu or a lama would be more successful. The result is that, oddly enough, a lama is first consulted, and they let him decide, by throwing dice, which exorcism would be more effective, that of the lama or the böm-bu. This is a noteworthy indication of the tolerance Lamaism has for popular religion, and it also shows that the lamas for their part do not doubt the magic power of the böm-bu. Thus I was told that in cases of serious illness, the böm-bu is generally preferred because the people believe he has greater magic power, and that he is nevertheless no more expensive than a lama.

/51/ The most common task of the böm-bu is to heal sickness with magic. The cause of the illness is assumed to be an offense against the spirits or possession by an evil spirit, and above all, enchantment by an enemy. However, sickness is not regarded as a punishment for sins. In our discussion of earth spirits, we pointed out that the Mewu-Fantzu believe that sudden illness can arise if one scratches up the ground and thus offends the earth spirits. In this case barley roasted in a kettle is sacrificed. Half of it is roasted until it is black, the other half is less thoroughly done. Both halves are then mixed and strewn on the ground. At the same time cypress wood is burned, and sacred writings are read aloud. The reading aloud of sacred writings is an essential part of the ritual of exorcism, just as it is among Chinese exorcists. The böm-bu can read the sacred writings in the tent of the sick person, but he also reads them in his own tent, on the one hand, in order to learn them, and on the other, to bring good luck to other people who have delegated him to do the reading. For a three-day treatment of an illness the böm-bu is given a sheep or $3 - $4. For reading sacred writings in his own tent throughout a forenoon, he gets about 20 cents. A lama receives the same amount for treating sickness with prayer.

As an exorcist, the böm-bu's duty is to drive out evil spirits and if possible destroy them. He can catch the evil spirits. To do this he reads the sacred writings aloud and uses a whip made of yak leather. A man stands in front of the böm-bu and holds open a bag of yak leather into which the böm-bu charms the evil spirit. A great many people stand behind the bag, threatening the evil spirit

Mewu

791 with all kinds of weapons - muskets, bows and arrows, swords and
765 knives - and driving the spirit into the bag. When the spirit is
789 captured, the bag is carried outside, opened up over a fire of /52/ yak dung and symbolically emptied. The escaping evil spirit is threatened with the weapons carried by the men who accompany the bag, and this is supposed to drive the spirit into the fire where he is consumed. This burning of the spirit always takes place at a crossroad, which is why crossroads are avoided in the evening, since one never knows whether or not the burning has been successful. This type of exorcism is practiced only in cases of illness.

791 In special cases exorcistic rites are carried on simultaneously
789 by a considerable number of böm-bu. Thus before a war 10 to 20 böm-bu gather in order to curse the enemy and ask for good luck. In this case the böm-bu invoke a special god, the horse god (Ma-wang-yeh). They can also, like the lamas, invoke the mountain spirits which bring luck.

791 The böm-bu surpass the lamas in their exclusive ability to
754 practice black magic. However, they must be paid more for this than for ordinary exorcism. A böm-bu can be induced to bring sickness or a cattle epidemic down upon an enemy, but for this he must be paid with a yak or a horse, whether or not he is successful.

When black magic is practiced with the help of a böm-bu, a dog is killed and its blood used. The name of the person to be bewitched is written on a slip of paper, along with a magic formula. Then the paper is dipped in the blood of the dog and buried near the person who is being bewitched. (1) Meanwhile /53/ the böm-bu is reading aloud from the sacred books in his tent. It is not possible, however, by means of magic to turn men into animals

and vice versa, as I was told several times in China.

1. In China we also find that cursed objects intended to bring ill luck through black magic are buried. For example, if a woman does not wish her neighbor well, she tries to gain possession of a few of her neighbor's hairs which she brings to an old woman versed in black magic and making a business of it. With the help of incantations, the old woman can make the hairs work an evil spell, for example, produce trachoma or boils. However, in order to be effective, the hairs must be secretly placed under the chamber pot (ma-t'ung) of the victim.

Since the Ch'iang have not yet passed the stage of animism, they believe there are ghosts and gods everywhere. Apart from what has been mentioned before, there are mountain peak gods at the tops of mountains, (pi-rü̈-tzé); gods of masculine and feminine mountains, (sü̈-pé-tzé); fortress gods on fortresses, (po-tzé); and local gods in every outpost. Yei-bo is the devil that causes all diseases. The Poison Devil is called is-dụ̈. One who has the Poison Devil in him or her is called Devil Old Woman (dụ̈-ma) if she is an old woman, Devil Girl (dụ̈-tchi) if a young girl, and Devil Man (dụ̈-tze) if he is a man. Besides, all tribal heroes and those who have done virtuous and meritorious deeds for the people are worshiped as gods.

II. The Ch'iang Sorcerer--Tuan-kung

One who has relations with all ghosts and gods is the tuan-kung. He himself has his special guardian god. All magic instruments of the tuan-kung have active powers. If we want to have a deep understanding of the beliefs of the Ch'iang, it is necessary to study the tuan-kung.

According to their legends, the Ch'iang lost a considerable portion of their traditional culture during the period of exile. Even their original belief in the Sacred Forest was restored only after their victory over the Ko tribesmen. After the restoration of their belief in the Sacred Forest, sacrificial ceremonies were inaugurated by outstanding elders. Also, prayers were collected and edited. A committee of priests was organized with its members in charge of different aspects of the sacrifice. After many years, the rites of sacrifice were slightly changed, and the chief priest who read the prayer became tuan-kung. All religious services, exorcism, treatment of illness, delivery from poverty, as well as capping, wedding, and funeral ceremonies were done by the tuan-kung.

During the period when there were only priests, the clothing of the priests was the same as that of the common people. Since the advent of the tuan-kung, there were special attirement and various magic instruments.

The tuan-kung wears a white skirt (jar-pü̈), and his topcoat may be a sheep-skin vest or an ordinary garment. It is the same all over Wen-ch'uan and Li-fan. But in Mao-hsien, along Lo-ta-ku, Shui-mu-kou, Shen-ch'ien-san-kou, and, T'a-hua-san-chai, all tuan-kung wear leopard skin. Besides, in Li-fan there are some special clothes of other styles.

791 773 The reason why the tuan-kung wears a monkey-skin hat(jar-tă), worships a monkey-headed old master, and beats a sheepskin drum (i-bou) is as follows: -- According to legends, the tuan-kung, having obtained sacred books, took a rest on his way home and fell asleep. At that moment a white sheep came and ate up the sacred books. When he woke up and did not see the books, he realized that they were already in the sheep's stomach. Unable to find a way out, he cried. Then came a gold-striped monkey who asked the tuan-kung why he cried. The tuan-kung told the monkey what had happened. The monkey said, "You can buy this white sheep, eat up its meat alone by yourself and make a drum with its skin. Every time you beat the drum, you will recall one sentence in the sacred books."/17/ The tuan-kung did as he was told and remembered indeed all the words in the sacred books. Later, the tuan-kung again wept because of his shortage of traveling expenses. The gold-striped monkey came again and led him home. After the death of the monkey, the tuan-kung, to show his gratitude to the monkey, made a hat with the monkey's skin, and using the monkey's tail, he made three pointed corners on the hat: from left to right, the first corner was called pi-ngi-shăr (meaning a clear distinction between black and white); the second 778 was called mo-bi (heaven); and the third ru-bu (earth). Then he 791 wrapped the monkey's head in paper and worshiped it (adding one more wrapping of white paper after each sacrifice) and called it Old Master (abe-tcha-h-kou).

[292] When the tuan-kung is sacrificing to the gods or redeeming a vow, he wears the monkey-skin hat. But in exorcising evils, he wears a kind of hat made of bamboo, pasted with a five-colored paper. It is called tan-tsu. In many places the tuan-kung wears the same kind of colored hat as the lama's. This may be the result of cross-cultural influence.

The sacred wand, or ser-ko-ta-bo, is one of the tuan-kung's important instruments. The length of the wand ranges from four to five feet. On its top is a figure of god made of iron or bronze. Under the god's head hangs a bronze bell. The end of the wand is a spear-head which can be thrust into the soil. This is used in exorcism, conveying souls, curing diseases, and war. An old tuan-kung also uses it in dancing to the god. But it cannot be used in sacrificing to the good gods.

The magic bell or sounding plate (shi-tsai-la) is made of bronze. But the hammer inside is made of cow's horn and is attached to an iron chain, which is connected with the handle. The latter is decorated

with a flowery cloth or animal hair. It has the same function as the sacred wand. 778 791.

The tuan-kung has another kind of magic instrument called sze-ge-rá in the Ch'iang language. Using an animal's horn as trunk, it has many things hanging around it such as the wild beasts' bones, paws, and teeth, and old coins. It is used in sacrifice to chase away dirty things. It is also used in summoning souls. Similar to this are two other magic instruments. One is what the Ch'iang call wa-shar, which strings together all the paws, teeth, and bones of the birds and beasts on a leather belt and is used in exorcism and curing diseases. The other is a bundle of twenty to thirty copper plates carved with the devils' images and hung on an animal horn. It is used by the tuan-kung to cure insanity. Finally, the tuan-kung has another instrument called je-tchu-ka-pi, meaning holy water vase, which looks like a dragon's head and is used to hold water. The tuan-kung uses it for curing diseases.

The tuan-kung may be called the spiritual leader of the Ch'iang tribesmen. He remembers the Ch'iang history. He can communicate with ghosts and gods. He can control nature, summoning wind and rain, and multiplying cattle and grains. He is the physician who can cure all diseases. He also has the power to change even the vicissititudes of fortune. Such a person must have divine power. However, according to what is said, the tuan-kung nowadays is not as powerful as in the old days. Fifty to sixty years ago, the tuan-kung was still able to fly. Tying two wine cups on both sides of his chest, the tuan-kung could leap into the cloud and all his magic instruments would follow him and fly. It is said that once a tuan-kung forgot to take out his instruments in a flight. After his taking off, his sheepskin drum made big noises in the box. His home folks opened it, and out jumped the drum. As it did so, it knocked down a person and killed him. The drum and all the other instruments followed the tuan-kung to the destination. After the service, all the instruments flew back home except the drum. The tuan-kung knew there must have been some reason. He hurried back and investigated and found that an unfortunate accident had indeed happened. A strange thing like this is hard to believe when you first hear it. However, this is quite common in primitive theology. Didn't the Yukat people, who believed in sorcery, think that the sacred drum was the shaman's horse and that he could ride it to heaven? 791

The tuan-kung is a kind of magician. All magicians can

791 perform magic to kill people. The tuan-kung also has the same power. As the story goes, once upon a time there was a tuan-kung who after finishing his service, always had some ghosts carrying him back home in a sedan. But his home folks did not believe it. Once the tuan-kung was out performing a service and did not return while it was quite late. /18/ His two sons were sent to bring him home. Before they reached their destination, they learned that the tuan-kung was on his way home. So they turned back. But, trying to scare their father, they took the route to the top of the hill and threw dust and sand at him. The father thought he had met devils. So he picked a blade of grass and killed them. Arriving home, he found out that they were his two sons. He hurried back to try to find the blade but in vain. He looked around and found his two sons were actually cut in half. Such magic is called imitative magic in primitive theology.

The tuan-kung is produced by a teacher-disciple system. An old tuan-kung teaches a disciple. Upon his graduation, a ceremony for thanking the teacher, which the Ch'iang call pi-ge-tsa, will be held. Two items in the ceremony deserve our attention. One is the rite to thank the King of Poison. In curing diseases, the tuan-kung must worship the King of Poison, whom the Ch'iang call tze-gar-be. Its external form is only a leather bag, which is filled with various kinds of birds' feathers and animals' hairs. The bag was originally hung on a tree at P'i-tzu-chai. Later, the tuan-kung of Tiao-hua-san-chai moved this King of Poison into the fortress at Tiao-hua-chai to be kept by Tuan-kung Yu. Afterwards, there was once an earthquake. The fortress collapsed and the King of Poison was in distress. However, up to now, it is still kept in Tuan-kung Yu's place. In inviting the King of Poison, there are often dozens of tuan-kung chanting liturgies together. At that time, an echo is heard from the leather bag. A tuan-kung carries the bag on his back and the others all dance. As they reach the place of the ceremony, the tuan-kung chant the liturgies, burn pine branches, call on the gods of the various Ch'iang tribes, and then start to drink. They ask the Poison King to drink first, putting a bamboo stick into the mouth of the bag of the Poison King that actually can drink. After the performance of the rite, the people themselves then start to drink together. Another item in the program is a special performance by the tuan-kung's disciple. The hero of the teacher-honoring ceremony must thrust a knife through his right cheek into his mouth between the upper and lower teeth. Then, he uses a needle to pierce into the left cheek. On the needle

is hung a little flag made of fir wood. At the same time, disciples of other tuan-kung also participate in the performance. But they need only thrust the flag, not the knife /into the mouth/. Only the tuan-kung who has performed the teacher-honoring ceremony is qualified to wear the monkey-skin hat. 791.

What is mentioned above gives a general idea of the origin of the tuan-kung, his attirements and instruments, and his magic power and instruction. As to the various functions of the Ch'iang tuan-kung, there are many and it takes a long time to enumerate them all. I shall discuss briefly a few cases in the following chapter dealing with examples of the Ch'iang practices, while a discussion of the details must wait until some other time.

III. Examples of the Ch'iang Practices

The Ch'iang tribesmen believe in ghosts and gods. They are sometimes lenient and sometimes severe. All diseases, poverty, famine, and other misfortunes have something to do with the attitude of those ghosts and gods. Whenever people meet such crises, they ask the tuan-kung for help. The tuan-kung is a person who, on the one hand, deals with ghosts and gods and, on the other hand, promotes the well-being of the people. He has the magic to cure diseases, to exorcise evil spirits, to eliminate plagues, to increase fecundity, and to do many other things. All the Ch'iang believe in such magic. The tuan-kung may also participate in capping, wedding, and funeral ceremonies. However, there are also many other important programs which have nothing to do with the tuan-kung. For instance, the act of praying for rain, which, it seems, ought to be a favorite job of the tuan-kung, is however entirely a practice of the people among the Ch'iang tribesmen. 776 791

Curing Diseases--People who believe in ghosts and gods consider all diseases as caused by their evil workings. Frazer, an English anthropologist, calls the disease which is caused by the evil influence of ghosts and gods "devil-disease." Even today in China there remains the habit of calling all diseases "devil-diseases." This is undoubtedly a custom handed down from ancient times. The Dyak people of Oceania say that diseases are caused by devils that possess the human body, by the attack of evil spirits, or by the capture of one's soul by the devil. The Savara people of India regard all diseases as the evil workings of their ancestors or other ghosts and gods. /19/ Besides, the Winnebago people of America, the 753

753 Uganda people of Africa, and many other primitive peoples are all of the same opinion. Like these peoples, the Ch'iang think that diseases are due to the evil influences of ghosts and gods. Since the source of illness is the ghosts and gods, it will be cured only if they are pacified. Therefore, it is unnecessary to take medicines. Deniker, a French anthropologist, remarks that since the primitive peoples believed that illness came from ghosts and gods, sorcerers and others like them were the earliest physicians. Only they could capture the devil inside the patient. (5) This exactly can also be said for the

5. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, p. 285.

[756] [791] Ch'iang. Whenever a Ch'iang is sick, he asks a tuan-kung to perform a magic cure for him. The Ch'iang themselves agree that the major difference between the Ch'iang and the Han /Chinese/ is that the former, while ill, take no medicine.

All ghosts and gods can cause diseases, but each disease caused by them has its peculiar symptom.

The Poison Devil carries poison with finger nails or eyes. The Ch'iang call it mu-mi-kue-dze ku. Diseases caused by the Poison Devil are swelling of the stomach or stomach-ache, indigestion, discomfort of the whole body, and overeating without gaining weight.

Diseases caused by offending the good gods at home are all diseases in the upper part of the body -- head, eye, ear, nose, mouth, chest, back, shoulder, arm, and hand. They can be cured only by inviting a tuan-kung or by making a vow to pacify the god by the patient himself. Diseases caused by offending the Earth God --Hégni --are all diseases in the lower part of the body, such as paralyzed foot, swollen leg, or lameness. Light illness will disappear by itself. But, for serious illness, a tuan-kung must be invited.

Diseases caused by offending the Forest God are headache, thirst, fever, and chill. The patient must avoid eating and must kill no living things. Those taboos must be observed by the patient's whole family. Even their neighbors are not allowed to make noise with gong and drum. In this way, they believe the patient will recover. If the disease spreads to all family members, the whole family is not allowed to go outside to communicate with others. If they die, beggars will be hired to move them away.

Diseases caused by bad spirits have symptoms like languor, bad dreams, abnormal behavior, aching waist, ulcer, and nameless swelling. When a tuan-kung is invited to cure diseases, he uses a red cock and goes to the local god to perform a one-day service. Diseases

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774 This statement is right to the point. But the nature of ghosts and gods is quite complicated. Deniker says that the so-called animism recognizes not only that a human being has a soul that can temporarily leave his body, but also that all animals, plants, minerals, and even artificial man-made products consist of two elements, the material and the spiritual. Things like dream, shadow, and imagination further strengthen the primitive people's belief in the existence of ghosts and gods. Furthermore they believe that ghosts and gods can be divided into the good and bad ones, and that sometimes they give blessing and other times trouble. (17) The variety and nature

17. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, p. 269, 272.

of the gods worshiped by the Ch'iang, as discussed above, coincides exactly with Deniker's statement. There is no doubt that the Ch'iang beliefs belong to animism.

Souls do not necessarily have shapes, but all objects have souls. Therefore, it appears that to worship the soul is to worship the object. And so Deniker regards fetishism as a kind of animism. S. Reinarch says, "The object inhabited by a spirit or soul is a fetish. In the early period of the Roman Empire, there was fetishism but no idol. The earliest God of War is represented by a spear and the God of Heaven a piece of flint." (18) In the same way the Ch'iang use

18. Oeuvres, pp. 143-4.

white stones to represent the various gods, a leather bag to represent the Poison King, and a fork to represent the Hunting God. The Ch'iang have no idolatry. Although there are now some temples with idols, yet this is the result of the Chinese influence. For instance, on the top of the Holy Mountain, "pai-k'ung-ke," at Hsing-shang-chai there were originally only three holy stones. But now there is a sculptured image of god behind the three holy stones. Some Chinese monks also live in the temple. Another example is that the Ch'iang at P'u-ch'i-shih-chai even give up their old tradition of redeeming vows in the Sacred Forest and instead they come to redeem vows at the Sinicized Chiu-lung Temple where there are images of gods like the Mountain King, the Cow King, the Ancestor of River, and the Mother of Earth, but no longer any white stone.

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791 We have mentioned above that the tuan-kung is a Ch'iang sorcerer. This is a Chinese term whereas in the Ch'iang language the tuan-kung is called pi. There is no question about the fact that

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the tuan-kung is a sorcerer. However, there are several kinds of sorcerers. The ancient Slavic people called those in charge of sacrifice to the deity priests and those practicing incantation and witchcraft magicians. (19) However, the tuan-kung of the Ch'iang possesses

19. Ibid. p. 260.

the double personality of priest and magician. He is the one who offers sacrifice to gods; he is also the one who exorcises devils and evil spirits. This kind of person has the same status as the Shaman who is prevalent among the peoples in the Frigid and the Sub-frigid Zones of eastern Asia. Montandon says that the Shaman is both priest and sorcerer. (20) Shirokogoroff says that in the language of the

20. Montandon, Traite d'éthnologie culturelle, p. 145.

Tungus, the word "Shaman" means the man or woman who can control ghosts and gods. He is the one who can utilize ghosts and gods to help himself and can, particularly, help those patients under the attack of devils. He has a way to communicate with devils and gods. (21)

21. Shirokogoroff, Psychomental complex of the Tungus, p. 269.

Such being the case, /29/ Shaman is not only a priest and magician, but he also possesses the qualification of a medicine man. However, since he is a magician, he is also automatically a medicine man because to cure diseases by magic is a general method among the primitive people. In ancient China, there was also the saying: "Sorcerer P'eng practises medicine." (22) Evidently, during the period of

22. Lü-shih-ch'un-ch'iu /Lü's Annals/.

sorcery, the medicine men must have also been sorcerers. This is probably an invariable principle. The Ch'iang practices only add another evidence to this principle. As to the observation that the Shaman possesses the double personality of priest and magician, the question is which personality, from the point of view of religious history, precedes the other? On this point Deniker says that as society progresses, magicians must also become priests. However, it often happens that after the priest class is born, the original sorcery remains.

(23) According to Deniker's theory, both the Ch'iang tuan-kung 771

23. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, pp.278-9. 791

and all the Shaman represent the last stage of sorcery and the first stage of priesthood.

In the aforesaid practices of the Ch'iang, we see that most of the magic rites performed by the Ch'iang tuan-kung is of the nature of imitative magic, which is based upon the mentality of the primitive people. Since the primitive people "regard similarity as reality," (24) Therefore they firmly believe in imitative magic and the

24. Ch. Blondel, La mentalite primitive, (Collection nouvelles culture).

effectiveness of incantation and gesture given by the magicians. All the practical activities of the primitive people often require the assistance of such magic as may be given to fishing, hunting and agriculture, to raising cattle, or to such human work as ship-building and house construction. (25) The Ch'iang rites of expelling

25. Thurnwald, Economics in Primitive Communities, p. 210.

bad luck are imitative magic extended to human work. They think, after such rites, the clumsy will become skillful and the poor rich. In the Ch'iang practice of praying for rain, the act of intercourse between the two sexes symbolizes clouds and rains in the sky, just like the agricultural festival in India which encourages promiscuity in the hope that the propagation behavior of human beings might influence the propagation of the grains in the field. The Bantus and the French Algerians in Africa, the Dayaks of northern British Bornea in Oceania, and the present Dutch and German farmers all have similar practices. The Ch'iang's killing white chickens and white dogs to pray for fine weather, their searching the mountains to pray for rain, the substitution of goats to die for men, as well as the tuan-kung's breaking a blade of grass to kill a person, all these practices also seek responsive influences through affinitive behaviors. They belong naturally to imitative magic.

The most important act in the Ch'iang rites of fecundity is the sprinkling of blood. The meaning of blood-spreading, according to the recent study by W. Schmidt, an Austrian anthropologist of the 771

28. Besson, Le totémisme.

This identification rite is an extremely important point in totemism. (29) Facts concerning this are quite abundant in the Ch'iang culture. 791

29. Besson, the French writer, says that a group of totemistic tribesmen gather together because of the belief that their ancestors came from a common totem. But, actually, totemism contains less sense of blood relationship than group relationship. The tottoos of Australian aborigines all imitate totemic animals. The American Indians do the same thing. The tortoise tribesmen of the Omahas cut their hair in the shape of a tortoise. When marrying, they rub the bodies of the bride and bridegroom with the skin of the totemic animal. In ancient Greece, during the bear service, all women in Athens wore bear-skin and called themselves female bears. Durkheim also says that the basic principle of totemism is consubstantiality.

In legends about their origin, the god of the Ch'iang revealed to them in a dream the way to defeat the Ko people by advising them to hang wool threads around their necks as marks when they met the Ko in the battlefield. When the battle was joined, the Ch'iang did as they were told and thus defeated the Ko to earn a position of "the survival of the fittest." The Ch'iang consider this war as a turning point in their regeneration. Even now, whenever they hold an important ceremony, they must tell this glorious history. In sacrifices to the gods, and in redeeming their vows, the tuan-kung would also read this history which is called bi-gu-ngew in the Ch'iang language. Before they defeated the Ko, the Ch'iang called themselves "dze-gai-be", meaning "people". After they defeated the Ko, they started to call themselves "rmee" (This is the dialect of the Hei-shui valley west of Mao-hsien. In the dialect of the Tsa-ku-nao-ho valley in Li-fan, it is pronounced as rmà.) The Ch'iang said that the Ko were an inhumane and beastlike race but the 'rmee' were shepherds who, more civilized than the Ko, were capable of speech, farming, and raising cattle, and who knew esprit de corps. The Ch'iang, being shepherds (30),

30. Tung Tso-pin says: "The word 'ch'iang' comes from the words 'sheep' and 'man', meaning therefore a shepherd. (Sometimes the Ch'iang carry strings, indicating the